1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

The first escapade of these young hoodlums was to back a colt half way through the door of the Smoke Lodge while the pipe-lighting ceremony was in progress. The old men did not utter a sound of protest—the tabu enjoined silence! Not content with this, the boys tickled the pony with a stick and caused him to kick wildly, upsetting the old men within. "He tore things up pretty badly." First mention of this stunt was made by Post Oak Jim. The boys were sons of his uncle and so his classificatory "brothers"; he thought they were very funny indeed. He shook with reminiscent chuckles in recounting the story. That's It remembers the incident too, and also considers it a fine joke.

But the old men, says That's It, were "awful sore." They began heatedly to discuss what should be done to the young men when they caught them. They were trying to figure out "what law they should give them." Here was an unprecedented situation—an undoubted grievance. A demand had arisen for a decision of policy. A social rule forced to consciousness by its breach, an explicit sanction was in the making—perhaps even a law. And the outcome? In the midst of the argument one old man spoke up.

"Now you old fellows," he addressed them. "You, too, were boys once. When the sun was shining in the sky, you were mighty nice. When the sun went down and the darkness came, you were devils. Don't you remember how *you* were? Boys will be boys."

They listened. They all thought about how they had behaved. When they thought about it, they all laughed—and let the matter drop. Even when they themselves were the aggrieved, the old men could serve as peace-preservers.

That's It, in thinking it over, did not know what kind of punishment they would have given the boys if they had gone on in the matter. That was a point that the old men had not decided. That's It had no precedent by which to predict their probable action. One step he was sure of. The old men would have gone to talk to the boys' parents.

If the remainder of Post Oak's story is true (it was not checked with other informants), the failure of the old men to take action against the boys on that first occasion marked the end of their venerable comfort. Subsequent misdeeds perpetrated upon their old heads included the throwing in of a skunk during the pipe-lighting ceremony, with the result that the smokers were driven from the lodge. On another occasion the jokesters slashed the robes which the members had left outside the tipi. They smeared soft feces on the gound by the doorway and covered the mess with a little dirt. The members, who had to remove their moccasins before entering, stepped into it barefoot. These and other indignities they heaped on the

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

heads of the forebearing elders. Indeed, boys will be boys. And peace-making may on occasion father trouble.

One is forced to wonder if youth would have dared such action before the days of white contact. Was this a sign of cultural disintegration? One suspects so. One cannot give a definite answer, but against the generous indulgence always shown to boys by the Comanche elders, there is to be put the fact that the Smoke Lodge was one of the first Comanche practices to go after white contact. Old men died off. The rising generation did not carry on the practice. The effrontery of the boys may have been a sign of its weakening hold. And in any going culture one may expect the normal human reaction: that what on one occasion may be a joke, an escapade, or a licensed blowing off of steam, will on sufficient repetition become a nuisance or an outrage and be dealt with as such.

In this survey of associations we have observed that the division of Comanche society into compartmental groupings had not gone very far. Age classes were lacking. The old men in the Comanche Smoke Lodge formed a sort of Council of Elders, but they were not taken too seriously, nor their opinions held to be law. Military groupings were too embryonic to have left their mark; medicine societies were largely lacking in demonstrated legal significance. Where groups did enter into the legal complex we shall see that they were formed about the kinship and friendship bond.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

went over to her mother and told her what had happened. It would be a good time to get that other doctor right away, he said, because the woman's husband was on the war path and would not know about it. The mother agreed and they went to see the other doctor. 627* 688

"This medicine man considered the matter and then said that he could cure her. He told them it was good they came while the trouble was yet in the early stages, for it would be incurable later on. If they wanted the cure done, he told them there were two choices. Either they would have to sacrifice someone else in the family, or else provide eight horses to be killed, for he could not stop the disease; he could only shift it to something else. He said he would prefer horses because he would rather not take the life of a human being. They agreed it should be horses. They went away and the medicine man worked up his power and performed his ritual. Before long the band broke camp and moved. This happened before the husband had returned from the war path. While they were driving the eight horses along, one of them suddenly dropped dead. They left him lying, and before long another one collapsed. Before they got to the next camp-site every one of the eight horses had fallen, one after the other.

"Then the mother and daughter rejoiced, for the doctor told them that if the horses did not die, it was a sign that he could not cure her of the curse which was upon her. Payment, he had said, could be in anything except horses. When the husband returned from the raid they told him how they had broken camp and lost eight horses on the trip, though no one knew how it had happened. That was all the deluded husband ever knew."

Indeed, as Professor Malinowski has so cogently shown for the Trobriand Islanders, "a supernatural sanction need not guard a rule of conduct with automatic effect."[10]

On the other hand, there were other ways in which resourceful husbands who had the proper medicine could lay a sorcery trap to catch an erring wife. How frequently this was done we do not know. From all accounts it was not very necessary, for all Comanches will gravely assure you that medicine men did not have much trouble with their wives. The women were afraid of the powers of such especially endowed spouses and decorously controlled their behavior accordingly. Even so, a case not without its humor was recorded, and is told with great relish by the Indians. 627* 754 684

627* 754 684 512

Case 31. Adultery
Informant: That's It

"There was a medicine man who had three wives, sisters to one another. He was suspicious of the actions of his favorite wife, who was the eldest. This man wanted to go to the Smoke Lodge for the evening, but would not trust that wife, so he put an arrow with medicine powers under the bed, and left.

[10] B. Malinowski, *Crime and Custom*, p. 81.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

"When he came home after the smoking was done, he found two people in the bed. One was his wife, and the other a young brave. The brave asked the pardon of the medicine man. What could he do? He was in the uncomfortable circumstances of being unable to separate from his paramour. He wildly offered the husband anything that might be required for his release.

"The husband turned on his heel and went outside. He got a switch. With this in his hand he entered the tipi again and gave the lovers a thorough dusting. After a while he wanted to go to bed. But the pair was still lying there, unable to get loose. So, calling on another of his wives, the medicine man ordered her to help him drag the luckless lovers outside the tipi. He pulling on the man, the wife upon the woman, they dumped the couple on the ground and left them.

"When morning came the parents of the young brave were about to move camp and became concerned with their boy's absence. Scouring through the camp to find him, they came upon their youth—attached still to the woman just as the irate husband had left them. Seeing this, the boy's father went to the medicine man and begged him to set the youth free.

"The husband refused. He said he loved his wife and he wanted her to get enough of it.

"Finding his own entreaties of no avail, the father went to some warriors of great influence and begged them to intercede. They went to the medicine man and offered him anything he might want to withdraw the charm. After this representation the medicine man consented; he went into the tipi and pulled the arrow out from under the bed. With this the pair got loose from each other.

"The father of the youth paid heavy damages to the medicine man, and that settled that part of the case.

"Then the father of the guilty wife came to plead for his daughter, that she wouldn't get cut up or killed by her husband. He offered his son-in-law gifts and begged him not to hurt his child. He suggested that since she was guilty, it would be well to make her the slave of the other two wives, but he would not like to see her injured. The medicine man refused the gift from his father-in-law, but agreed to keep the woman, though she could no longer be his favorite wife. Thereafter she had to be a slave in his household to her younger sisters."

Here is a father begging his son-in-law not to harm his daughter. Propitiatory gifts are offered! As was noted in the discussion of murder, the title to a woman passed completely to the husband on marriage. That he refused the gift and yet observed the father's wish seems merely to indicate the nobility of the husband in the case.

ORDEAL

Conditional curse is closely akin to ordeal. In view of the wide spread of ordeal in the Old World and its peculiar usefulness in law, its general neglect by the American Indians is unique. Yet neglect need not mean

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

absence. The Comanches knew the conditional curse for adultery and sorcery cases, and also had ordeal. They made no legal use of the latter; the former was not extended into general legal practice. This is more notable than the *absence* of either procedure. Nothing could more interestingly evidence the inertia in the way of diffusion or further adaptation of institutions *within* a single culture.

Papítsɔin may be best called a joking ordeal. In the presence of others a joker (who could be anybody so long as his relationship to the butt of the joke did not demand avoidance) addressed another person of either sex. In an off-hand manner the remark would be dropped, "Well, and so I hear you have been having intercourse with So-and-so."

The usual reaction was indignant denial. If so, the joker picked up a bit of dirt between the fore-fingers and sprinkled it on the hair of his victim. This done, were the victim guilty of the sex conduct charged, the loss of all hair was supposed to result, and the victim would appear ridiculous in the eyes of all people. Or even more terrifying, if the jokester placed the dirt upon the tongue of the victim, guilt would be proved in loss of speech.

This is a practice which lives today and causes much mirth for the onlookers and terror for the party accused. In the summer of 1933 Skinny And Wrinkled told with great gusto how he had seen a woman running down the main streets of Lawton, Oklahoma, speeding as though pursued by the Holy Terror, which was in fact no more than a laughing young Indian with a pinch of dust between his fingers.

Non-submission to the test proves guilt even as does submission and the occurrence of the unfortunate consequences. This is ordeal in all its aspects of a supernatural test save the solemn setting and the presence of a dispute of interest-importance to the disputants. One would expect that in the event the victim of the joke were a married woman, and found guilty, her husband would perforce institute proceedings against the adulterer. Nevertheless, the assurance of informants is that it was never used seriously, a statement which is substantiated by the complete absence of any ordeal practices in the case histories of disputes which were collected.[11]

OATH

In the Buffalo Tongue Ceremony,[12] a very definite immunity from legal consequences for an unfaithful wife was observed. After a big hunt the

[11] The joking ordeal was unknown to the Shoshone. Its counterpart was found among the Cheyennes. This indicates a late acquisition for the Comanches.

[12] This ceremony is lifted from the sun-dance complex of other tribes. Its rarity among the Comanches is attested by the fact that no mention of its practice was made by informants used by the laboratory group. Dr. Mirsky recorded it independently.

rendered me an adept in this sort of somersault. There was 727
one consolation attending it, the moment I went over, the mule would invariably stop, and an Indian as invariably run and right me up again.

Unable to see, I was in perpetual suspense. If the mule happened to be traveling at a sharp pace on these occasions, and the branches strong, it became a violent and serious affair, not only to the extent of inflicting great pain, but of endangering life. As it was, my face and breast were sorely bruised, resembling more the appearance of a pugilist returning from some Long Point than the ordinary features of a man. It afterwards afforded the Indians most excellent [522]
sport, a subject for infinite jest, and every performance was treated with "tremenduous applause." No comic actor ever so amused his audience. Indeed, I could tell sometimes from the laughter that would begin to arise that danger was near, and lying close on the mule's neck, escape it. It was aggravating beyond endurance, converting any humbler emotions I might have entertained to those of uncontrollable wrath. If each malediction I bestowed on the high cheek-boned, copper-colored demons, and which came from the bottom of my heart, had possessed the weight of a grain of mustard seed, the whole Comanche nation would have soon been attending to their own torments instead of mine, in another and a hotter world.

About noon of the first day's march, the cavalcade halted, repacked the mules, roasted some venison, and after an hour's delay proceeded on the journey. At dark they again stopped for the night. When permitted to dismount, and the blindfold had been taken from my eyes, I discovered we were in a narrow ravine, a lonely and secluded spot, with high precipitous mountains rising close on either side, and near a large spring which gushed from a rock, the source

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

solved to make their disgusting horseflesh serve the double purpose of supplying us food for the body, and themselves food for mirth. In our Indian dresses, which consisted of leggins rising only to the knee, and a short hunting coat, the upper portion of the leg, that is, above the leggin, was necessarily bare. As we sat upon the ground together, our feet tied, it was likewise necessarily exposed. When the meat designed for us had boiled until the fat began to fry and sputter, they would throw it with such marvelous dexterity from the end of their roasting sticks, that it would fall on our naked limbs hissing hot. If the laziest reader of this book will try a similar experiment on himself, he will find it admirably calculated to arouse his activity. I venture to affirm he will squirm more energetically, turn over quicker, and throw a greater amount of exercise into a given period than he ever did before in his life. It had the same effect on us, and the muscular demonstrations we made during the exhibition "brought down the house" far more uproariously than any of our previous performances during the day. It resulted in my declining supper altogether, having a prejudice against the waiters in attendance, and of raising broad blisters on my persōn, the scars of which I will carry with me to the grave.

At the conclusion of these exercises, so refreshing on one side and so painful on the other, the warriors threw themselves on the ground to sleep. They lay near each other, forming a large circle, leaving a space in the center some fifty feet in diameter. Our sleeping apartment was in this space, and we were "put to bed and tucked up" in the following original fashion: First, we were made to lie down upon our backs, with our arms and feet extended. Four stakes were then driven firmly through the sward, to which our hands and feet were fastened, holding us in such a

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

ing upon them, slaughtering and slaying until they whined for mercy, like their own vile curs. 727

Indulging such moods as these, I was one day unbound and ordered to perform some menial office. Previously, however, I had determined in my heart to kill at least one or more of them the first opportunity that offered, partly to gratify my vengeance, but more especially actuated by the hope that in the melee, prompted by sudden wrath, they would dispatch me at once and save me from a lingering death at the stake. When, therefore, the cords were unfastened and I stood erect with free limbs, instead of obeying the command, I seized the first thing within my reach, [415] which happened to be a wooden pothook, and hurled it at an Indian with all my strength. Well was it for him [522] that it missed its aim. Instantly I was surrounded and borne down, but instead of producing the effect intended, the unexpected assault convulsed them with laughter. The next day, and the next, and every few days thereafter, I was unloosed and directed to skin a deer, or bring wood or water, they taking special care, in the meantime, to keep all dangerous weapons out of my reach and a sufficient number about me to prevent serious mischief. But I refused, absolutely and defiantly. On occasions, also, at this period, when the watch was brought out, I would not touch it. The life I was leading had become so inconceivably irksome—they were such a filthy and cruel race—the disgusting camp so "smelled to heaven"—everything about me was so hopeless and so wretched that I became utterly reckless, longing only to shake off, I cared not how, at length, the heavy nightmare of existence. If, therefore, I had previously feigned the character of a humble and devout missionary with some degree of success, I now played the part of an obstinate jackass to absolute perfection. [515 364]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

and Comanches, who really did not expect much in the way of marital fidelity, the stunt seems to be a little meaningless. Among the Cheyennes, however, who originally built up the Sun Dance complex,[45] family virtue was actually adhered to, and every military society had four virginal maidens as essential ritual assistants. As an adjunct of Comanche buffalo tongue banquets, ritual chastity had no place, but as a chance for good-humored teasing it seems to have appealed to the Comanche sense of a good thing.

Had the Comanches and other Plains Indians been left undisturbed by intruders, the buffalo might have supplied their needs indefinitely. But the white man pushed ever relentlessly westward, and intruding Indian bands along the border of the Comanche country began to trespass upon the Comanche hunting grounds. The effects of these encroachments on the country soon began to be felt in a vital way—in the diminishing supply of buffalo. The period between 1830 and 1860 witnessed such destruction that the hunters found it increasingly difficult to sustain their families by hunting.

During the colonial period in Texas, buffalo were seen as far south as the vicinity of the present city of Houston. As early as 1833 explorers and adventurers in the region of the Arkansas and Canadian rivers had begun to observe that the eastern edge of the buffalo range was retreating westward rapidly. The Osage agent wrote in 1841 that his Indians had to extend their hunting operations each year farther and farther into the plains to obtain even a scant supply, and that it would soon be necessary for them to learn to farm.[46] In 1846 it was estimated that one hundred thousand buffalo cow hides annually reached the Canadian and American markets. The bull hides were then regarded as worthless for commercial purposes. At the same time Torrey's Trading House was getting three dollars each for ordinary, and eight dollars for choice, hides.[47] It is difficult to determine how extensively professional white hunters operated during the period be-

[45] L. Spier, "The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XVI, Part 7 (1921).

[46] Agent Wm. Armstrong, *Annual Report*, 1841, 27 Cong., 2 sess., *House Exec. Doc. 2*, No. 34, 316–17.

[47] C. C. Rister, "The Significance of the Destruction of the Buffalo in the Southwest," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIII (1929), 34–39. Torrey's was the official company of the Republic of Texas for trading with the Indians.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952 .
NO6 Comanche NO6

nearly so important to the Comanches as they were to some tribes farther north. 293

The life of a Comanche warrior was rugged, but that did not keep him from spending a great deal of time at his toilet. He was especially proud of his hair, and in the village he might be seen daily combing, greasing, and braiding it. Men parted their hair from the center of the forehead back to the crown, forming a braid on each side, and made a streak of yellow, white, or red along the part. The braids were tied or wrapped with beaver fur or any other available material that appealed to the wearer's fancy. Beaver fur was worn on dress occasions. Bright-colored pieces of cloth, with red the most commonly recurring color, is used at the present time by the older men. Pieces of silver, beads, tin, glass, and single feathers were attached to the side locks as decorations. Each man also wore a scalp lock braided from the hair at the top of his head, and in it he usually wore a single yellow or black feather. Brushes, made from the tails of porcupines, were used for grooming the hair. The most common form was made by stretching the porcupine tail over a stick of wood. Hair brushes were also made by pounding out the fibres of a large yucca stalk. These fibers were gathered up and bound together with a buckskin thong and singed so as to burn off the sharp edges. The men never shaved, but carefully plucked all hair from their face and eyebrows with a pair of tweezers made of bone, leaving the whole face as smooth as a baby's cheek. A piece of door spring was used incessantly by Post Oak Jim through all the long hours of interviews in 1933. Comanche vanity went so far that narcissistic bucks begged for the hair that women cut off in mourning so that they could splice it into their braids to make them look longer. She Invites Her Relatives tells of one *tuiβltsi* who was showing off at a dance. "He threw his side lock over his shoulder—and the attached end came off. Everybody hooted with laughter; he picked it up and went home." 302 [522]

Paint was an indispensable article of ornamentation for both sexes. Both men and women, when circumstances permitted, painted their faces before meeting strangers and for all special occasions. The Comanches always carried paint with them. Vermilion was much sought after, but when it could not be obtained from the white trader, paint was made from clays and from weed and berry juices. Black was the [386]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

887 lapse into conversation. The pipe was passed among them and smoked until it burned out. Then after a bit, the refilling and lighting ceremony was again solemnly performed and they were ready for another round of talk. Four times they filled and smoked the pipe out; then they dispersed for the night. The fire-tender left first; the others followed in procession, treading around the tipi to the north. But during the course of the evening a man could make nonceremonial exit from either side of the door.

The conversation dealt with matters both trivial and serious. The men exchanged ideas and related the latest camp gossip. They narrated deeds which they had performed in their younger days and stories which they had heard. They engaged in coup-counting games by forming sides and each relating a coup which he had gained. The losing side might have to furnish a feast the next day. At other times they spent the evening asking each other dishonorable and embarrassing questions. "How many times have you been divorced?" "How many times did you turn back from the warpath without meeting the enemy?" They were beyond struggling for prestige, and they made light of the prime-of-lifers to whom prestige meant so much. And although they discussed tribal matters of moment, they had no authority.

887 In earlier times the Old Men's Smoke Lodge was respectfully treated, but in later days they received some rough handling by
● 522 practical jokers among the boys. The most common prank was to close the smoke flaps of their lodge and smoke them out. Once their old war robes with painted coup pictures were slashed by boys. Another time pranksters put excrement in the doorway and covered it with dirt, knowing that the old men always took off their moccasins to enter their sacred lodge. Yet another time, boys stood outside the door and smeared foul stuff in their hair as they came out. And once, as the old men were going through the pipe-lighting ritual and could not holler out, they backed a colt through the door and made it kick and buck. "It tore things up and the old men were awful sore. They began to talk about what they should do to the young men when they caught them, what law they should give them, but one old man spoke up.

" 'Now you old fellows,' he told them, 'you were boys once.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

When the sun was shining you were mighty nice. When the sun went down you were devils. Don't you remember how you were? Boys will be boys.' "[26]

They all laughed and let the matter drop. After all they were old men—peaceable, and not warriors jealous of their dignity.

Although they were a strong physical race of people, the Comanches were troubled with a number of diseases. Many of their ailments were due to their unbalanced diet, to exposure, and to the vigorous life they led. Among their more serious ailments were pneumonia, colds, rheumatism, wounds, broken bones, intestinal diseases, rattlesnake bites, smallpox, and cholera. The number with weak eyes, partially or completely blind, was appalling. Fevers often resulted from their trips to the east and south. The white intruders brought cholera, smallpox, and syphilis, which swept away many of the people. Epidemics of smallpox took heavy tolls in 1816, in 1839–40, and in the winter of 1861–62. The cholera epidemic of 1849, brought from the East by immigrants on the road to California, possibly resulted in more fatalities than the smallpox plague. In any event, whether from violence, disease, or old age, the end came inevitably to every Comanche as to every man—and the cycle was closed.

When the condition of an elderly person became hopeless, he was usually "thrown away" by all except his most faithful relatives and friends; and sometimes even they would desert him. This was not due so much to lack of affection and sympathy as from fear of the evil spirits and his ghost, which were believed to have taken possession of his body. When he felt death drawing near, he made disposition of all his property and retired to a quiet spot to die. After making medicine in preparation, an old man might take his own life, and at least one case is known where a man took the life of his wife by cutting her throat because she was hopelessly ill and lonely.

There was not a long delay between death and burial. If possible, burial took place the same day. The body was prepared with great care by anyone who would undertake the job, usually near relatives assisted by a comrade or close friend of the deceased. A woman attended to the body of a woman; a man attended to a man's. When a small child died, it was buried still lashed to its cradle-board. Before

[26] Informant: That's It.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

Miscellaneous. The body build of the Comanches is inclined to corpulency, perhaps even more today than in Catlin's time. The hands appeared small but well formed. Several instances were noted where the second toe of the foot was distinctly longer than the first or big toe.

The health of the Comanches seemed not particularly good. Trachoma is endemic, with actual blindness or badly impaired vision frequent. Rheumatism, venereal diseases, and tuberculosis were other common complaints.

Relative to mentality, Richardson ('27, p. 72) says, "the Comanches were not a dull people. In native ability their chiefs were a match for the keenest minds of the white men." Mooney appraises them as 'practical and businesslike.' Although the present writer's sojourn with the tribe was very brief, he can emphatically confirm the judgments of the aforementioned observers. Joking or bantering proclivities seemed also a widespread characteristic.

MEASUREMENTS*

Stature. The average stature of the Comanches, according to the writer's data, is 168.3 cm. for males and 156.1 cm. for females. These averages are quite close to those reported by Boas (1895 a, males 167.8 cm., females 156.2 cm.), being practically identical in the females. A significant likeness, too, appears in the gross distribution of the two series, namely, approximately one-fourth, respectively, being short (below 166 cm.), and tall (above 173 cm.).

	Males	
	Under 166 cm., per cent	Over 173 cm., per cent
Comanche		
Goldstein	29.4	23.5
Boas	24.4	27.1
Apache and Navaho (Boas, 1895 a)	23.7	25.3

* It may be mentioned that the percental distributions of the characters measured, not included here, were, despite the small numbers, as a rule of remarkably even spread, i.e., conforming to the normal distribution curve. The averages, minima and maxima of the various characters are appended at the end.

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

396 on his whistle of eagle bone. After the center pole had been set, the outer
346 circle of short posts and stringers was erected and rafters run from these to the fork in the center pole. In one case the entire lodge was then covered with cottonwood brush. In another only the walls were filled in with brush, the roof being left open. A single opening was left on the east side to serve as a door. Across the west side of the lodge a row of small cedar trees or cottonwood branches was set up, screening off an alcove into which the dancers could retire to rest and sleep.

While the lodge was being constructed, hunters were sent out to kill a
[532] three year old buffalo bull. At the dance where the lodge was fully roofed, the head and fore quarters of this animal were skinned and the skin stuffed with willow twigs, making a sort of manikin. This was set on top of the lodge with its head toward the east. In the dance where the open lodge was used the skin was simply placed in the fork of the center pole. During the
[786] time that the materials were being collected and the lodge erected ordinary rules of conduct were relaxed and there was a good deal of sexual license, although this apparently did not apply to close relatives.

796 When the lodge was finished or nearly finished, four or five clowns ap-
522 peared. The number of these performers does not seem to have been fixed
292 and anyone could adopt the rôle who wished. These clowns wore conical
536 helmets of willow twigs with the leaves and bark left on, the lower edges of the helmets coming down over their shoulders. They carried circular shields roughly woven of split willows, also with the leaves and bark, and long swabs or clubs made from willow saplings with the leafy twigs at their ends woven into a ball. They had large false noses of mud and their whole bodies, equipment and even their ponies were liberally daubed with mud. They road into camp at a gallop, chasing the people and dogs, striking anyone they could catch with their mud soaked swabs, and performing a variety of amusing antics. Those who were struck could not take offence, but people who did not want to take part in the fun would run into the lodges, where the mounted men could not reach them.

796 After the completion of the lodge, and probably after the clown's in-
541 vasion, there was a sham battle. While the finishing touches were being put to the lodge, some of the men had retired to the neighboring creek bottom and built a rough enclosure there, "like a rail fence." In this they established themselves, sometimes having women and children with them. A man who had served as a scout in actual combat came out from the main camp, located this "fort," and returned to report the presence of an enemy. All the warriors in camp then donned their full regalia and went out to attack it, followed by a crowd of spectators. During the attack each man reenacted

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

men could not afford to gather in too large numbers. On other other hand, wealthier men often had a number of tipis, and their feminine entourage might thus have been of considerable size.

It is obvious that many opportunities were present for the growth of hostility between the wives, and fights appear to have been not uncommon.[12] The husband usually did not interfere, but left it to some of the wives' relatives or some other influential person. None but the favorite wife would come to the husband with grievances against another, as he was not likely to be very sympathetic.

Siblings-in-law. Of all the members of her husband's family a woman is likely to be most intimate with his sister. As we have seen before, he frequently left his wife with his sister when he went off on raiding parties; whether this was more common than leaving her with his brother is not clear, but one certainly gets such an impression. In this situation, the sister had pretty complete authority over the wife, at least as far as her relations with other men were concerned, but the usual pattern was of friendliness and mutual help, coupled with a certain amount of mild joking if they felt like it.

Brothers-in-law frequently felt a strong bond, and were likely to seek each other's company and aid in preference to any but their own brothers. This is doubtless closely connected with the recognized custom of men giving their sisters to their friends as wives. Brothers-in-law are expected to joke a great deal together, the jokes being insulting, personal, and often coarse. The words for spider, *talêʔcɪ*, and for tarantula, *pɨ'hɨreʔcɪ*, are recognized to mean "someone's brother-in-law" and "hairy brother-in-law" respectively, while common pharses substituted for this relationship term are given as "our testicles" and "our smell of dog urine." Examples of this sort could be multiplied indefinitely.

The dominant pattern of behavior between siblings-in-law of opposite sex is the reciprocal joking relationship so commonly found among Plains tribes. It apparently does not exist among the Shoshoni in just this form, and the existence of the two terms for denoting this relationship among the Comanche suggests the intrusion of the custom along with the term, though I have been unable to locate a similar word in another tribe. Repeated questions failed to elicit any preference for the *hâipia* (sibling-in-law of opposite sex) or the spouse term in any given situation, joking or otherwise; they seem to be interchangeable. The genealogies reveal that different individuals with whom the informants joked and generally carried on similar relationships were sometimes called by one, sometimes by the other, and often by both terms. However, although the spouse terms are often used in joking too, there is no doubt that the joking *relationship* was on the basis of their being each other's *hâipia*. Thus there was some feeling that it was not quite right for husband and wife,

[12] Catlin (1845, Vol. 2, pp. 64–5) found such fights to be among the most striking features of Comanche community life.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

607 who do not use this term, to joke in quite the same way, while TY, whose first husband's older brother was "mean," never joked with him and therefore never called him anything but "husband."

Women are usually the initiators of the joking, whether it is physical or verbal. It is not obligatory, however, and if the man consistently becomes annoyed, it is the woman who is considered in the wrong; the characteristic behavior is thus associated only permissively with the relationship. A man may also warn her that she has gone far enough, and she will cease; she is in a rather vulnerable position, as the man may know of some infidelity of hers, and if he should start making a public joke of this, she might get into serious trouble with her husband or brother. A woman is usually counseled by a sister or woman friend against carrying a joke too far, if it is thought that trouble is brewing. It is said that *hâipia's* could take a lot of "ribbing" in the old days, [177] but that now they become annoyed very easily; there is no doubt that the [522] influence of the white man has greatly curtailed the pursuit and enjoyment of "off-color" humor which so characterized some phases of Comanche life. This is especially true of the joking which involved physical contact—pinching, making mock love, and so on—in public.

607 Verbal joking between *hâipia's* most commonly deals with another person 522 with whom the victim is suspected of intriguing; these jokes are not made flagrantly public, but a woman may, for example, use some physical peculiarity of her *hâipia's* suspected mistress as the basis of a special name which she calls him in public, meanwhile taunting him continually in private. He becomes embarrassed and his wife suspicious—she may try to find out to whom this name refers. Practical jokes, or jokes about the victim's physical appearance, do not seem to be usual.

While jokes of this sort may be made between any unrelated man and woman (though the term *hâipia* is never used in this context), the actual relationship provides for the most important outlet for sexual joking between the sexes; the spouse may not like it, but when it is institutionalized, he or she can make little objection. That there is a connection between this joking and the fact that the *hâipia* is one's potential spouse through the levirate or sororate is undeniable; one informant even stated that these relatives went so far as to have actual sexual relations in the old days, and it seems reasonable that this should have been the case.

More distantly or doubtfully related siblings-in-law may act in accordance with the expected patterns or not, according to the individuals' preferences; a couple of examples of the *hâipia* relationship were mentioned before. This joking pattern of behavior may often be followed with striking gusto to the most distant of relatives.

607 The use of the term *nimiʔâraʔ*, "our (children's) uncle," as a substitute 195 for *tâʔɛt*, "man's brother-in-law," or *pâhapia'piʔ*, "woman's sister-in-law," is not

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tahni?inukwahe$_8$,— me$_9$ yʌkwiiyu$_{13}$. 9. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ huna- 539
kwʌ$_2$ mi?anu$_3$. 10. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ narohtʌma?a$_2$ uranu$_3$,
u$_4$ yaanu$_5$ pʌ$_6$ puhiwihta$_7$ tʌbinaa?wekiti$_8$ suku$_9$ naro-
htʌmakʌ$_{10}$ tʌkinu$_{11}$, u$_{12}$ narohtʌma?a$_{13}$ ukʌhu$_{14}$ marʌkí-
?nenu$_{15}$. 11. suni$_1$ u$_2$ mʌʌhtsi$_3$, su?ahru$_4$ pʌhʌ$_5$
kahni$_6$ kʌma?ku$_7$ u$_8$ wihínu$_9$. 12. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ si?a-
netʌ$_2$ wanarohpetimi?anu$_3$. 13. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ ukʌ$_2$ bitʌnu$_3$.
14. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ tabebe?tu$_2$ wanarohpetinu$_3$, tʌasʌ$_4$
tukaani$_5$. 15. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$, —mia$_4$
rakwʌ$_5$,— me$_6$ yʌkwiiyu$_7$. 16. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$
mi?anu$_3$, pʌhʌ$_4$ kahnikʌ$_5$ bitʌnu$_6$. 17. sitʌ-
kʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$ pʌhʌ$_4$ puki$_5$ to?yanu$_6$. 18. sitʌ$_1$
wihnu$_2$ ma$_3$ kumahpʌ?$_4$ habinu$_5$. 19. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$
kwʌhʌ$_3$ hunaiki$_4$ pʌnʌ$_5$ nʌmiiyu$_6$. 20. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$
kumahpʌ?$_3$, —kima$_4$ habiki$_5$. ʌnʌhahtu$_6$ hina$_7$ wehkínii-
na$_8$?— me$_9$ u$_{10}$ niikwiiyu$_{11}$. 21. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$
habimi?anu$_3$. 22. habihtsikʌse?$_1$ sitʌ$_2$ sʌmʌh$_3$ ke$_4$
ʌhpʌitʌsʌ$_5$ taanu$_6$, pʌ$_7$ puhiwihta$_8$ nasutamʌhabiitʌ$_9$.

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away$_8$.— 9. This one$_1$ went$_3$ outside$_2$. 10. This one$_1$ found$_3$ 539
a can$_2$, took$_8$ it$_4$, put$_{11}$ half of$_8$ her$_6$ money$_7$ there$_9$ in the 522
can$_{10}$, pressed down$_{15}$ its$_{12}$ lid$_{13}$ on it$_{14}$. 11. Doing$_3$ it$_2$ that
way$_1$, along there$_4$ threw$_9$ it$_8$ beside$_7$ their$_5$ house$_6$.
12. These two$_1$ at this place$_2$ went to play cards$_3$.
13. These two$_1$ arrived$_3$ there$_2$. 14. These two$_1$ played
cards$_3$ through the day$_2$ also$_4$ (through) night$_5$. 15. This$_1$
her$_2$ husband$_3$ said$_{4\ 7}$, —Let us$_5$ go$_4$.— 16. These two$_1$ at
this place$_2$ went$_3$, arrived$_4$ at$_5$ their$_4$ houses$_6$. 17. This$_1$
her$_2$ husband$_3$ unhitched$_4$ their$_4$ horses$_5$. 18. Then$_2$ /this$_1$/
her$_3$ husband$_4$ laid down$_5$. 19. /This$_1$/ his$_2$ wife$_3$ herself$_5$
was moving$_4$ about outside$_6$. 20. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ said
to$_{9\ 11}$ her$_{10}$, —Come$_4$ come lie down$_5$. What$_7$ are you /around$_6$/
looking around for$_8$?— 21. This one$_1$ then$_2$ went to lie down$_3$.
22. Lying down$_1$, this one$_2$ slept still$_3$ not$_4$ at all$_5$ [till]
morning came$_6$, (but) lies thinking of$_9$ her$_7$ money$_8$. 23. This

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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539 23. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌetsʌkusʌ$_2$ taayʌtsʌnu$_3$, ʌkʌnaa$_4$ pʌ$_5$ puhiwihta$_6$ wehkímí?anu$_7$. 24. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ke$_2$ u$_3$ uraayu$_4$. 25. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ tʌkʌhmaninu$_3$, pʌ$_4$ kumahpʌ?a$_5$, —kima$_6$. tʌhkaru?i$_7$ tah$_8$,— me$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$. 26. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌhkánu$_2$. 27. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ kumahpʌ-?a$_3$, —nʌ$_4$ buhiwihta$_5$ nʌ?$_6$ narohtʌmakʌ$_7$ nʌ$_8$ rʌki?ha$_9$ watsikʌ?i$_{10}$.— me$_{11}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{12}$. 28. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$, —kʌhtaa$_4$ ma?$_5$ nʌe$_6$ tukaani$_7$.— me$_8$ yʌ-kwiiyu$_9$. 29. —nahkia$_1$ u?$_2$ po?ayaahkwa?i$_3$,— mekʌse?$_4$ surʌ$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$. 30. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ nahma?ai$_2$ ma$_3$ wehkitʌ$_4$, ma$_5$ wehkitʌ$_6$, ʌamʌsokoratʌapʌkahku$_7$ ma$_8$ uranu$_9$. 31. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kwʌhʌ$_3$ na?okiiyu$_4$. 32. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ pʌhʌ$_2$ kahnibetu$_3$ mi?anu$_4$, pʌhʌ$_5$ puhiwihta$_6$ urahtsi$_7$. 33. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$, —keta?$_4$ kwasikʌ$_5$ ʌ$_6$ puhiwihta$_7$ suni$_8$ mʌʌrʌ$_9$. puhihwikahnikʌ$_{10}$ rakwʌ$_{11}$ tabʌ$_{12}$ puhiwihta$_{13}$ sibe?nikiyutʌ$_{14}$. puhihwikahni-kʌ$_{15}$ tahni?i?etu?i$_{16}$.— me$_{17}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{18}$.

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539 one$_1$ early morning$_2$ got up$_3$, first$_4$ went to look for$_7$ her$_5$ money$_6$. 24. This one$_1$ did not$_2$ find$_4$ it$_3$. 25. This one$_1$ 542 then$_2$ cooked$_3$, said to$_{9\ 10}$ her$_4$ husband$_5$, —Come$_6$. We$_8$ will eat$_7$.— 26. These two$_1$ ate$_2$. 27. This one$_1$ said to$_{11\ 12}$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ —I$_4$ lost$_{10}$ my$_6$ money$_5$ what$_9$ I$_8$ put$_7$ in (the) can$_7$.— 28. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ said$_{8\ 9}$ —Wind$_4$ it$_5$ (was) hard$_6$ last night$_7$.— 29. —(I) guess$_1$ it$_2$ blowed away$_3$,— that one$_5$ said$_{4\ 6}$. 30. These two$_1$ together$_2$ are looking for$_4$ it$_3$, are looking for$_6$ it$_5$, one mile away$_7$ (they) found$_9$ it$_8$. 31. This$_1$ his$_2$ wife$_3$ was rejoicing$_4$. 32. These two$_1$ went$_4$ towards$_3$ their$_2$ house$_3$, their$_5$ money$_6$ finding$_7$. 33. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ said$_{17\ 18}$. —Next time$_8$ don't$_4$ treat$_9$ your$_6$ money$_7$ that way$_8$. From now on$_{16}$ /in the bank$_{18}$/ we$_{11}$ will put$_{16}$ our$_{13}$ money$_{13}$ in the bank$_{15}$.—

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XIV

539 1. soobe?ʌʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ su?ana$_3$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_4$ kahnʃba?i$_5$.
2. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_2$ tomoanu$_3$. 3. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$
nʌmʌnʌʌ$_2$, —narʌ?ʌya$_3$ nabuniiku$_4$ ma?$_5$ tomoa?i$_6$, — me$_7$
niwʌnʌʌyu$_8$. 4. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ʌmʌhúpiitʌ$_2$. tʌsʌ$_3$ kahtáa-
nʌenu$_4$. 5. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_2$ pʌ$_3$ sekwikʌnikʌhu$_4$
tunehtsʌʌnu$_5$, ma$_6$ tsʌhkínu$_7$. 6. makuhpa$_1$ mariia$_2$ yʌkwi-
hkakukʌse?$_3$ sí?anetʌ$_4$ marʌʌba?etʌ$_5$, piakwasinaboo?$_6$
wʌhkitsu?tsu?ikatʌ, sí?ana$_8$ piahuuhpa?aiki$_9$ suhka$_{10}$ se-
kwikʌni$_{11}$ tʌbinaa?weki$_{12}$ habitʌ$_{13}$, pa?a$_{14}$ habiiyu$_{15}$. 7.
pʌ$_1$ wʌhkitsu?tsu?i?a$_2$ piahakai$_3$ pipikúkʌ?eeyu$_4$. 8. sitʌʌ-
kʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_2$, —ohkaka$_3$ tʌbitsi$_4$ narʌ?ʌyati$_5$ kwasi-
naboo?a$_6$ wʌhkuupa$_7$, — me$_8$ niwʌnʌʌyu$_9$. 9. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$

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539 1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, Indians$_4$ had a home$_5$ somewhere$_3$.
522 2. It$_1$ clouded up$_3$ much$_2$. 3. Those$_1$ Indians$_2$ said$_{7\ 8}$ —It$_5$
looks$_4$ dangerous$_3$ clouding up$_6$.— 4. It$_1$ began to rain$_2$ and$_3$
(the) wind blew hard$_4$. 5. These$_1$ Indians$_2$ ran$_3$ to$_4$ their$_3$
cellar$_4$ (and) crowded$_7$ it$_4$. 6. As$_3$ they$_2$ are sitting$_3$ in it$_1$,
at this place$_4$ a big snake$_4$ is lying$_{13}$, /is/ rattling$_7$, /is/
over them$_4$, there$_8$, over$_{14}$ along (a) big log$_9$ (it) was lying$_{15}$
(in the) middle of$_{12}$ that$_{10}$ cellar$_{11}$. 7. (He) was making$_4$
some kind of big$_3$ noise with$_4$ his$_1$ rattles$_2$. 8. These$_1$ In-
dians$_2$ said$_{6\ 9}$, —Kill$_7$ that$_3$ very$_4$ dangerous$_5$ snake$_4$.—

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wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_2$, --kʌa$_3$ ranʌ$_4$, — me$_5$ niwʌnʌʌyu$_6$. 539
10. —tamʌba?atu$_1$ ma?$_2$ pahitu?i$_3$, — me$_4$ niwʌnʌʌyu$_5$.
11. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_3$ ma$_4$ ʌmaku$_5$, ma$_6$ baho?ʌmaku$_7$, tʌasʌ$_8$ kʌhtaa$_9$ ma$_{10}$ nʌeku$_{11}$, hunakwʌhi$_{12}$ ke$_{13}$ bakʌhu$_{14}$ to?iwa?i$_{15}$ nanakakukʌse?$_{16}$ surʌ$_{17}$, —nʌtsa?$_{18}$ to?itu?i$_{19}$, — me$_{20}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{21}$. 12. si?anetʌkʌse?$_1$ sitʌ$_2$ marʌʌhkutʌ$_3$, ma$_4$ tsahwihtsi$_5$, to?inu$_6$. 13. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ hunu?betu$_2$ nuhkínu$_3$. 14. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ nʌena$_3$ u?ahru$_4$ ma$_5$ wʌnʌʌhkupa?eeyu$_6$. 15. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_2$ kuya?anu$_3$, si?ahru$_4$ hunu?matu$_5$ pohpínu$_6$, si?ana$_7$ tʌpanaruhka$_8$ karʌnu$_9$. 16. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ hunu?bi$_2$ pʌ$_3$ tʌhpe?ku$_4$ okwehkina$_5$. 17. pʌkʌ$_1$ ma$_2$ karʌna$_3$ sʌmbaaruanu$_4$. 18. si?anakʌse?$_1$ pibiakwasinaboo?$_2$ ma$_3$ okwema-?ai$_4$ mawakatu$_5$ pakwabihkwaina$_6$. 19. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌbitsi$_2$ kuya?anu$_3$. 20. —noo$_1$ nʌ?$_2$,— mekʌse?$_3$ sitʌ$_4$ yʌkwihtsi$_5$, pʌʌ$_6$ kahnikʌhu$_7$ nuhkínu$_8$. 21. sitʌʌ$_1$ kwasinaboo?nʌʌ$_2$ ma$_3$ manukúʌnu$_4$, pʌmʌwa?itisʌ$_5$ sukʌhu$_6$ hunu?matu$_7$ u$_8$ namanukikʌ$_9$. 22. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ wobikʌnikʌ$_4$

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9. Those$_1$ women$_2$ said$_3$ $_4$. —Let's$_4$ go out$_5$.— 10. —It$_2$ will fall$_3$ on us$_1$,— (they) said$_4$ $_5$. 11. As$_5$ it$_4$ rained$_6$ a lot$_3$, as$_7$ it$_6$ hailed$_7$, also$_8$ as$_{11}$ it$_{10}$ blew$_{11}$ hard$_9$, as (it) sounded$_{16}$ outside$_{12}$ (as) not$_{13}$ place$_{14}$ can't [to] go out$_{15}$, that /one$_{17}$/ one$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_{20}$ $_{21}$. —I$_{18}$ will go out$_{19}$.— 12. At this place$_1$ this one$_2$, opening$_3$ it$_4$, went out$_4$ from them$_5$. 13. This one$_1$ ran$_3$ towards the creek$_2$. 14. /This$_1$/ that$_2$ wind$_3$ along there$_4$ was knocking$_4$ her$_5$ down$_4$. 15. This one$_1$ was frightened$_3$ a lot$_2$, jumped$_6$ along here$_4$ on to the creek$_5$ sat$_9$ here$_7$ under the bank$_8$. 16. This$_1$ creek$_2$ its$_3$ fullness$_4$ came flowings$_5$. 17. Where$_1$ she$_2$ is sitting$_3$ is all under water$_4$. 18. Here$_1$ big snakes$_2$ with$_4$ its$_3$ flow$_4$ are swimming around$_4$ towards her$_5$. 19. This one$_1$ really$_2$ was scared$_3$. 20. Saying$_3$ $_5$. —I$_2$ must$_1$ (go),— this one$_4$, ran$_6$ to$_7$ their$_6$ house$_7$. 21. These$_1$ snakes$_2$ made$_4$ her$_3$ run$_4$, as$_9$ she$_8$ ran away from$_9$ one just like them$_5$ there$_6$ on to the creek$_7$. 22. This one$_1$ then$_2$ arrived and entered$_3$, in$_4$ their$_5$ wooden house$_6$ /is/ all 539 522

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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519 ikʌhúpiitʌ₈, samʌba?ɨsoketʌ₄. 23. sitʌmkʌse?₁ ma₂ na-
?nʌmanʌʌ₃, --hakʌkia₄ urʌ₅ pihisi?apʌ₆ wa?ihpʌ?₇? --
me₈ niwʌnʌʌyu₉. 24. sitʌkʌse?₁ si?ahru₂ marʌʌkʌhu₃
to?inu₄, pʌ₅ kwasu?i₆ samʌsihwapʌnaihku₇. 25. sitʌʌ-
kʌse?₁ ma₂ na?nʌmanʌʌ₃ maaitʌ₄ nanihtokwekʌ₅. 26. su-
kʌhu₁ sitʌ₂ tʌmarʌʌmoaku₃ urii₄ kʌhtánʌenu₅, pahoopima₆
tʌasʌ₇ urii₈ ʌmanu₉. 27. subetʌ₁.

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519 wet₄. 23. These₁ her₂ relatives₃ said₄ ₉. --Wonder where₄
that /ones₅/ coward₆ woman₇ is₈?-- 24. This one₁ along here₂
522 went up₄. to them₃ as₇ her₅ dress₆ had been all torn₇.
25. These₁ her₂ relatives₃ were laughing₅ at her₄. 26. There₁
this₂ much₃ wind blew hard₅ (on) them₄ (and) hail₆ also₇
rained on₈ them₉. 27. That is all₁.

[p.54 is blank]

XV

539 1. soobe?ʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_3$ waahkusi?okwe?betu$_4$ mi-?anu$_5$. 2. tamutʌso?ihunu?ma$_1$ surʌʌ$_2$ nobitʌnu$_3$. 3. urʌʌ$_1$ nanawa?ihpʌ?anʌʌkʌse?$_2$. —ʌbia$_3$. 4. hunu?betu$_1$ tanʌ$_2$ na?kʌhtaba?i?a$_3$ pomaakwa$_4$. — 5. surʌʌ$_1$ hunu?betu$_2$ mi-?anu$_3$. 6. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ sihka$_2$ na?kʌhtaba?i?a$_3$ sʌsamʌ?a$_4$ wʌhpómi?inu$_5$, tʌasʌ$_6$ uma$_7$ sohokʌahtsi$_8$, u$_9$ wʌyumi?i-nu$_{10}$. 7. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$, —nʌtsa?$_3$ sohoro?itu?i$_4$, — me$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$, sʌmʌ?ma$_7$ to?inu$_8$. 8. okoba?a$_1$ to-?itsi$_2$, suhka$_3$ huuhpihta$_4$ moke$_5$ tahkobʌtsi$_6$, pahihkitʌ$_7$, tʌasʌ$_8$ sʌmʌ?ma$_9$ u$_{10}$ mokama$_{11}$ tsaninu$_{12}$. 9. sohkotʌ$_1$ pʌ$_2$ tsanihkutʌ$_3$ wenuunukina$_4$. 10. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ tʌi?nʌʌ$_3$

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539 1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, Indians$_3$ went$_5$ towards grey flow-
522 ing cedar creek$_4$. 2. Those ones$_2$ camped$_3$ on Briar Creek$_1$. 3. Their$_1$ womenfolk$_2$ (said), —Oh$_3$, 4. let's$_2$ go to pick$_4$ pecans$_3$ on to the creek$_1$.— 5. Those ones$_1$ went$_3$ on to the creek$_2$. 6. These ones$_1$ cut down$_3$ some of$_4$ these$_2$ pecans$_3$, also$_6$ climbing$_8$ on it$_7$ [the tree], knocked$_{10}$ it$_9$ [them] down$_{10}$. 7. One$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_6$ $_6$, —I$_3$ will climb up$_4$.— (and)went up$_8$ on one$_7$. 8. Climbing$_2$ on there$_1$, that$_3$ tree$_4$ limb$_5$ (is) breaking$_6$, (she) is coming-falling$_7$, again$_8$ (she) got hung$_{12}$ on one$_9$ (of) its$_{10}$ limb /on$_{11}$/. 9. From there$_1$, from$_3$ her$_2$ perch$_3$ (she) swung back and forth$_4$. 10. Those$_1$ her$_2$

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uhka$_4$ pʌʌ$_5$ tsapʌhetu?ihʌ$_6$ mʌninu$_7$. 11. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$ tʌhʌyakarʌrʌ$_3$, uba?a$_4$ wʌnʌhtsi$_5$, u$_6$ tsapʌhé-nu$_7$. 12. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_2$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_3$ pomanu$_4$. 13. waahkusi?okwe?kʌhi$_1$ uma$_2$ tʌmʌʌnu$_3$, tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_4$ puhíhwituanu$_5$. 14. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ sooko$_2$ narʌhka-?rʌmʌʌnu$_3$. 15. wihnu$_1$ u$_2$ pʌetsʌku$_3$ pitusʌ$_4$ nobitʌnu$_5$. 16. seʌʌ$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_2$ kohtoohtsi$_3$, tʌkʌhmaniiyu$_4$. 17. si?ahrukʌse?$_1$ waikinʌ$_2$ nanakwʌhʌnʌh$_3$ pʌpa?a$_4$ yʌkwihkana$_5$ nuhkikitʌ$_6$, marʌʌkʌ$_7$ wʌnʌnu$_8$. 18. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$, —kwʌʌpʌ$_3$. weehtsi$_4$, tahi$_5$ tʌkʌhmanikʌ$_6$. — me$_7$ u$_8$ niikwiiyu$_9$. 19. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kwʌhʌ$_3$ pʌhʌ$_4$ tʌkʌhtʌmʌʌpʌha$_5$ yaahtsi$_6$, urʌʌ$_7$ kohtoopʌkahtu$_8$ u$_9$ nʌʌhkwitubinikwʌsʌ$_{10}$ u$_{11}$ wihínu$_{12}$. 20. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_2$ u$_3$ su?uyaa?inu$_4$. 21. —soo$_1$ ma?$_2$ hibihkatʌ$_3$. — me$_4$ u$_5$ niikwiiyu$_6$. 22. surʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$, —hipe?se?$_4$ wa?ihpʌ?$_5$ senihku$_6$ tʌkʌhmani?eeyu$_7$? — 23. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_2$, —pia$_3$ rʌa$_4$ noo$_5$ u$_6$ makwinumʌtsi$_7$. — me$_8$ u$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$.

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friends$_3$ they$_2$ will take down$_4$ that one$_4$ (but they) couldn't$_7$. 11. One$_1$ man$_2$ is on horseback$_3$, standing$_3$ on it$_4$ took$_7$ her$_6$ down$_7$. 12. These$_1$ women$_2$ picked$_4$ a lot$_5$. 13. In Wichita Falls$_1$ (they) traded$_3$ for it$_2$, got$_3$ much$_4$ money$_5$. 14. Those ones$_1$ bought$_3$ lots of$_2$ groceries$_3$. 15. Then$_1$ that$_2$ morning$_3$ (they) moved$_5$ back$_4$. 16. Those various$_1$ women$_2$, making a fire$_3$, were cooking$_4$. 17. Along there$_1$ a wagon$_2$, (with) a married couple$_3$ sitting$_3$ on it$_4$ is coming-running$_4$, (and) stopped$_8$ among them$_7$. 18. This$_1$ man$_2$ said to$_7$ $_9$ her$_3$, —Wife$_3$! Getting off$_4$, cook for$_6$ us$_5$.— 19. This$_1$ his$_2$ wife$_3$ taking$_4$ their$_6$ bought food$_5$ into$_8$ their$_7$ fire$_8$ threw$_{12}$ /it$_{11}$/ that$_9$ still wrapped package$_{10}$. 20. Those$_1$ women$_2$ laughed at$_4$ her$_3$. 21. —Lots$_1$ she$_2$ has drunk$_3$,— said to$_4$ $_6$ her$_5$. 22. That$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ (said), —Since when$_4$ (does) woman$_5$ cook$_7$ in this way$_6$?— 23. Those$_1$ women$_2$ said to$_3$ $_{10}$ him$_9$, —Must$_5$ /be/ because$_3$ $_4$ /of/ having made$_7$ her$_6$ dizzy$_7$.—

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XVI

539 1. soobe?ɐkɐtsa?$_1$ rɐs$_2$ wahahtɐh$_3$ nɐmɐrenanɐh$_4$ narɐmɐ-
?kʌhu$_5$ puhíhwʌhimami?aayu$_6$. 2. sitɐkwʌkɐse?$_1$ su?ana$_2$
kahnikatɐhɐwaka$_3$ bitɐnu$_4$. 3. surɐkʌse?$_1$ tenahpa?$_2$,
—hina$_3$ mɐkwʌ$_4$?— me$_5$ uhri$_6$ niikwiiyu$_7$. 4. sitɐkwʌkɐse?$_1$,
—mɐhɐwaka$_2$ nɐkwʌ$_3$ rabetɐhkaki?$_4$,— meka$_5$. 5. sitɐ-
kʌse?$_1$ tɐhkánu$_2$. 6. tɐkʌtsi$_1$, oyetʌ$_2$ narɐmɐ?kʌhu$_3$ mi-
?aayu$_4$. 7. sitɐkwʌkɐse?$_1$ pɐhɐwaka$_2$ mahri$_3$ tɐhka?inɐkwʌ$_4$
mahrɐmunakwʌ$_5$ nuraami?a$_6$. 8. sitɐkʌse?$_1$ hunu?matu$_2$
weenu$_3$. 9. sitɐkwʌkɐse?$_1$ nanakwʌhɐnɐkwʌ$_2$ paatɐbinaa$_3$
tobo?inu$_4$, pɐha$_5$ pukuhnihi$_6$ hibikatu?i$_7$. 10. sitɐkwʌkɐse?$_1$
tenanɐkwʌ$_2$ mahrɐbinakwʌ$_3$ ukʌhu$_4$ weenu$_5$. 11. sitɐkʌse?$_1$
uhrɐmata$_2$ pɐhi$_3$ tsahanitɐ$_4$ tɐpanabetu$_5$ pɐha$_6$ pukuhnih$_7$
tsahkánu$_8$. 12. sitɐkʌse?$_1$ mahrɐ$_2$ natsa?ani?$_3$ pɐnʌsu?a$_4$
tɐpanabá?a$_5$ to?ikwa$_6$. 13. suni$_1$ naahtsi$_2$, sitʌhi$_3$ tena-
nih$_4$ paakʌhu$_5$ to?kwʌrianu$_6$. 14. mahrɐ$_1$ natsa?ani?$_2$
muhpa?araihtu$_3$ wahtíkwanu$_4$, mahri$_5$ mana?koroominu$_6$.

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539 1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, two$_3$ Indian man$_4$ went$_5$ to town$_6$
522 to get money$_7$. 2. These two$_1$ arrived$_4$ there$_2$ at a couple's
home$_3$. 3. That$_1$ man$_2$ said to$_3$ them$_4$, —What$_5$ you two$_6$
(want)?— 4. These two$_1$ said$_2$, —To you$_3$ we$_4$ came to eat
supper$_4$.— 5. These ones$_1$ ate$_2$. 6. (After) eating$_1$, all$_2$
were going$_4$ to town$_5$. 7. These two$_1$, they$_2$ [who] ate$_4$,
with them$_3$ went moving$_4$ in front of them$_5$. 8. These ones$_1$
went down$_3$ on to the creek$_3$. 9. These two$_1$, the man and
wife$_2$, stopped$_4$ in the middle of the water$_3$, (and) will wa-
ter$_7$ their$_5$ horses$_6$. 10. These two$_1$ men$_2$ went down$_3$ to it$_4$
behind them$_5$. 11. This$_1$ one of them$_2$ [who] is driving for$_4$
them$_3$, made$_5$ their$_6$ horses$_7$ go up$_8$ on to the bank$_9$.
12. This$_1$ their$_2$ buggy$_3$ it also$_4$ went up$_5$ on the bank$_6$.
13. That way$_1$ happening$_2$, these two$_3$ men$_4$ were spilled out$_5$
in the water$_6$. 14. Their$_1$ buggy$_2$ fell$_4$ upside down$_3$, and

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15. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌhi$_2$ tsahanitʌ$_3$ pʌhʌ$_4$ narʌmuhki$_5$ kɛ$_6$ bʌa?i$_7$. 16. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ haitsi$_3$ pamukwarʌ?rʌkitʌ$_4$, su?ahru$_5$ kuro?inu$_6$. 17. sitʌsu?akʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ haitsi$_3$ pʌhʌ$_4$ pukuhnʌruhketʌ$_5$, pamukwarʌ?rʌkitʌ$_6$, su?ahru$_7$ kuro?inu$_8$. 18. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ haitsi$_3$, —yee$_4$. nʌnʌmʌnitahtsʌ$_5$ ʌ$_6$ tʌtsʌhaniiku$_7$. — mekʌ$_8$ u$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$. 19. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$ mahrʌwakatu$_3$ tunetsʌtsi$_4$, mahrʌ$_5$ natsa?ani?a$_6$ tsahkárʌkʌnu$_7$. 20. mahrʌ$_1$ tsowekwa?kʌse?$_2$ okwenukwa$_3$. 21. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ suni?yutʌsʌ$_2$ puhihwikahnikʌ$_3$ wekwʌhúpiitʌ$_4$. 22. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ puhihwiparaiboo?$_2$, —mʌkwʌkia$_3$ hakani$_4$ nahánu$_5$?— me$_6$ uhri$_7$ niikwiiyu$_8$. 23. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ sʌmʌ?$_2$ uhrʌmatʌ$_3$, —paakʌhutsa?$_4$ iitʌ$_5$ nʌhi$_6$ tsayuma?i$_7$.— mekʌ$_8$. 24. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ puhihwiparaiboo?$_2$ uhri$_3$ puhíhwimakanu$_4$. 25. —meeku$_1$ bʌkwʌ$_2$, haitsinʌkwʌ$_3$, namʌsoapʌrʌmʌʌkwa$_4$ pʌkwʌ$_5$, — me$_6$ uhri$_7$ niikwiiyu$_8$. 26. surʌkʌse?$_1$ sʌmʌ?$_2$ nʌʌmʌ$_3$, —tsaakumasʌ$_4$ nʌʌ$_5$ kwasú?utʌmʌʌnu$_6$, puhihwiparaiboo?atsa?$_7$ haitsikatʌ$_8$. — mekʌ$_9$. 27. subetʌ$_1$.

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covered$_4$ them$_5$ up$_6$. 15. This one$_1$ [who] is driving for$_3$ them$_2$, (did) not$_6$ let go of$_7$ their$_4$ reins$_5$. 16. This$_1$ his$_2$ friend$_3$ began making bubbles$_4$, bobbed up$_5$ along there$_6$. 17. This one also$_1$ his$_2$ friend$_3$ gets out from under$_5$ their$_4$ horses$_5$ begins making bubbles$_6$, bobbed up$_8$ along there$_7$. 18. This$_1$ his$_2$ friend$_3$ said to$_{8\ 10}$ him$_9$, —Oh$_4$! Surely bad$_5$ when$_7$ you$_6$ drive$_7$.— 19. This$_1$ man$_2$ running$_4$ towards them$_3$, set up$_7$ their$_5$ buggy$_6$. 20. Their$_1$ hats$_2$ floated off$_3$. 21. These two$_1$ are still that way$_2$ (when they) arrived and entered$_4$ in (the) bank$_3$. 22. This$_1$ banker$_2$ said to$_{4\ 8}$ them$_7$, —What$_4$ happened$_5$ you two$_3$?— 23. This$_1$ one$_2$ of them$_3$ said$_4$, —In the water$_4$ this one$_5$ made$_7$ us$_6$ fall$_7$.— 24. This$_1$ banker$_2$ gave money to$_4$ them$_3$. 25. —Now$_1$ you two$_2$ friends$_3$, /you two$_3$/ go to buy clothes$_4$,— (he) said to$_{6\ 8}$ them$_7$. 26. That$_1$ one$_2$ Indian$_3$ said$_9$, —I$_5$ did$_4$ buy$_6$ (a) good$_4$ suit$_4$, (I) have$_8$ (a) banker$_7$ friend$_8$.— 27. That is all$_1$.

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XVII

539 1. soobe?ʌ$_1$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_2$ pʌi$_3$ puhihwʌhimaru?ika$_4$, nʌmʌna-rʌmʌʌ?nʌʌkʌma?kʌ$_5$ nobitʌnu$_6$. 2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ pʌetʌʌ-ku$_3$ sʌ?sʌmʌhku$_4$ buhfhwʌhimanu$_5$. 3. u$_1$ yʌihkakʌse?$_2$ marʌʌ$_3$ nanahtenanʌʌ$_4$ sookʌnikʌhu$_5$ hibimi?anu$_6$. 4. sitʌ-kʌse?$_1$ tukaninu$_2$, tsaa$_3$ mʌahtabeba?i$_4$. 5. yʌihtʌkʌtsi$_1$, pʌʌ$_2$ kahnikʌ$_3$ marii$_4$ yʌkwihkaku$_5$, marʌʌ$_6$ kʌma?kʌrʌ$_7$ pibianiwʌnʌʌyu$_8$, rʌasʌ$_9$ pibiawaa?akiiyu$_{10}$. 6. marʌʌ$_1$ na?renahpʌ?kʌse?$_2$, —yee$_3$. urii$_4$ bunitu?i$_5$ nʌ?$_6$,-- mekʌ$_7$ marii$_8$ bunihtsi$_9$, ikahki$_{10}$. 7. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kwʌhʌ$_3$, —usʌ$_4$ hakarʌ$_5$ hibihka$_6$?— mekʌ$_7$. 8. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ na?renahpʌ?$_3$, —namaka?mukitsika$_4$ taa$_5$ tʌrʌc?tii$_6$ betsʌ-

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539 1. Long ago$_1$, when$_4$ they$_3$ will receive money$_4$, Indians$_2$
522 camped$_6$ beside Indian stores$_5$. 2. Those ones$_1$ that$_2$ morning$_3$ received money$_5$ one hundred apiece$_4$. 3. When$_3$ it$_1$ was night$_2$, their$_3$ menfolk$_4$ went$_6$ to town$_5$ to drink$_4$. 4. It$_1$ got dark$_2$, (but it) had$_4$ [was] good$_3$ moonlight$_4$. 5. Eating supper$_1$, as$_5$ they$_4$ are sitting$_3$ in$_3$ their$_2$ house$_3$, (there) are beside$_7$ them$_6$ many (who) are talking lo[illegible]$_8$, also$_9$ many are shouting loudly$_{10}$. 6. Their$_1$ man relative$_2$ said$_7$, —Oh$_3$! I$_4$ will look at$_5$ them$_4$,— looking at$_9$ them$_8$, came in$_{10}$. 7. /This$_1$/ his$_2$ wife$_3$ said$_7$, —Who is$_5$ that$_4$, (who) is drinking$_6$?— 8. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ (said), —Getting ready$_4$, our$_5$ children$_6$ taking along$_7$, to those ones$_8$ to

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htsi$_7$, oraakahu$_8$ motsotaiboo?naakahu$_9$ nuraa$_{10}$.— 9. marii$_1$ 539
kaakwaka$_2$, sitaa$_3$ hibipanaa$_4$ pibiatsuhniniwanaayu$_5$, taasa$_6$
ta?kwabainu$_7$. 10. sitakase?$_1$ wa?ihpa?$_2$ sama?a$_3$ raasa$_4$
pawa?iti$_5$ rarare?takati$_6$ nimainu$_7$. 11. —kima$_1$. 12. oraa-
kahu$_1$ tana$_2$ raiboo?naakahu$_3$ nuraa$_4$.— meka$_5$. 13. sita-
kwakase?$_1$ nahmeta$_2$ paha$_3$ ohnáa?rarae?tihi$_4$ habikonokoko$_5$
tohímaka$_6$. 14. si?anetakase?$_1$ sitaa$_2$ uraakahu$_3$ nuraanu$_4$,
marae$_5$ naahtamaka$_6$ wekwinu$_7$. 15. si?anakase?$_1$ marae$_2$
huumasaapa$_3$ aka$_4$ soohpuhikata$_5$ patuhkati$_6$ tuhakia-
hkaku$_7$, wanayu$_8$. 16. sitakase?$_1$ mahramata$_2$, —iki$_3$
tana$_4$ ituhka$_5$ piahuuhpa?a$_6$ yakwi$_7$.— meka$_8$. 17. sitaa-
kase?$_1$ wohyaku$_2$ maba?a$_3$ yakwinu$_4$. 18. marii$_1$ yakwi-
hkakukase?$_2$ soka$_3$ marae$_4$ kahnika$_5$ pibianiwanayu$_6$,
raasa$_7$ na?aruuyu$_8$. 19. pai$_1$ yakwihkakukase?$_2$ sama?a$_3$
mahramatana$_4$ tua?kase?$_5$, —piah$_6$. hipa?a$_7$ tana$_8$ yakwihka$_9$?—
meka$_{10}$. 20. sitakase?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$, —yuukara$_4$. keta?$_5$
rekwaara$_6$.— 21. sitakase?$_1$ tuinahpa?$_2$, —piah$_3$. a$_4$
mo?e$_5$ na$_6$ uhtu$_7$.— meka$_8$. 22. ma$_1$ mo?e$_2$ yaahuhiihtsi$_3$,

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those of 'bearded white man$_9$' (you) run$_{10}$.— 9. As$_2$ they$_1$ 539
went to go out$_2$, these$_3$ drunks$_4$ were talking very mean$_5$ also$_6$ 522
were shooting$_7$. 10. This$_1$ woman$_2$ called$_7$ one$_3$ (who) also$_4$
like her$_5$ has children$_6$. 11. —Come$_1$! 12. To those ones$_1$ to
(the) white people$_3$ let's$_2$ run$_4$,— (she) said$_5$. 13. These two$_1$
are together$_2$, are carrying in (their) arms$_4$ their$_3$ little ba-
bies$_4$ in night cradles$_5$. 14. At this place$_1$ these$_2$ ran$_4$ to
them$_3$, entered$_7$ in$_4$ their$_5$ fence$_6$. 15. Here$_1$ their$_2$ grown
trees$_3$ still$_4$ has many leaves$_5$ (and) was standing$_6$ (being)
darkly shaded$_7$ around under it$_4$. 16. This$_1$ /is/ one of them$_3$
said$_2$, —Let's$_4$ sit$_7$ here$_3$ under this$_5$ on (this) big log$_6$.—
17. These$_1$ in a row$_2$ sat$_4$ on it$_3$. 18. As$_2$ they$_1$ are sitting$_3$,
there$_3$ at$_5$ their$_4$ camps$_5$ (there) was loud talking$_6$ and$_7$ fighting$_8$.
19. As$_2$ they$_1$ are sitting$_2$, one$_3$ of them$_4$ (her) son$_5$ said$_{10}$,
—Mother$_6$. On what$_7$ are$_9$ we$_8$ sitting$_9$?— 20. This$_1$ his$_2$
mother$_3$ (said), —Sit still$_4$. Don't$_5$ talk$_6$!— 21. This$_1$ little
boy$_2$ said$_4$, —Mother$_3$! Give$_7$ me$_4$ your$_4$ hand$_5$!— 22. Fetching$_3$

Humor in Ridicule

519 —ihka$_4$ masukaa$_5$. — meka$_4$. 23 sitʌk^se?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$, —hipa?atsa$_4$ ran^se?$_5$ yʌkwik^hutu?i$_6$? piahuuhpa?a$_7$ tanʌ$_8$ yʌkwihkatʌʌ$_9$. — mekʌ$_{10}$. 24. sitʌk^se?$_1$ tuinʌhpʌ?$_2$ ke$_3$ narahkupar^$_4$, —piah$_5$. itʌtsa?$_6$ taa$_7$ yʌkwihkana$_8$ yʌyʌ-muk^bʌniit^$_9$. — mekʌ$_{10}$. 25. sitʌk^se?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$, —niyukarʌ$_4$. — me$_5$ ma$_6$ niikwiiyu$_7$. 26. sitʌk^se?$_1$ tʌasʌ$_2$, —piah$_3$. ʌ$_4$ mo?e$_5$ nʌ$_6$ uhtu$_7$. — mekʌ$_8$. 27. sitʌk^se?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ mo?e$_3$ ma$_4$ mo?ok^$_5$ mʌʌnu$_6$. 28. ma$_1$ mo-?ek^se?$_2$ sitʌ$_3$ yaahtsi$_4$, —ihka$_5$ masukaa$_6$. — mekʌ$_7$. 29. sitʌk^se?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$ ma$_4$ masukaahtsi$_5$, ma$_6$ kwa-sima$_7$ tsaainu$_8$. 30. sitʌk^se?$_1$ nanihkupʌkat^$_2$ suhka$_3$ bʌ$_4$ tʌi?a$_5$, —kwi?tanáai?$_6$. ʌ$_7$ manaa?nakw^hi$_8$ masukaa$_9$. — mekʌ$_{10}$. 31. sitʌk^se?$_1$ ma$_2$ masúkaanu$_3$, ma$_4$ na-kima$_5$ tsaainu$_6$. 32. sitʌk^se?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$ ma$_3$ nakima$_4$ tsaaihtsi$_5$, yahnénu$_6$. 33. yahnet^$_1$, yahnet^$_2$, pʌ$_3$ tʌeti$_4$ sokoko$_5$ mahbénu$_6$. 34. sitʌsu?ak^se?$_1$ ma$_2$ tʌi?$_3$ nani-hkupʌkat^$_4$, yʌtsʌnu$_5$. 35. sʌmʌ?oyet^$_1$ marii$_2$ yorihka$_3$, sitʌ$_4$ motsotaiboo?o$_5$ pitsipʌbimoróo?$_6$ yʌtsʌhtsi$_7$, marʌʌ?a-

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519 her$_1$ hand$_2$, (he) said$_4$, —Feel$_5$ this$_6$!— 23. This$_1$ his$_2$ mother$_3$
522 ● said$_{10}$. —On what should$_4$ we$_5$ be sitting$_6$? We$_8$ are sitting$_9$ on a big log$_7$.— 24. This$_1$ little boy$_2$ (does) not$_3$ give up$_4$, said$_{10}$. —Mother$_5$! This$_4$ our$_7$ seat$_8$ is moving much$_9$.— 25. This$_1$ his$_2$ mother$_3$ said to$_5$ him$_6$. —Sit still and keep quiet$_4$!— 26. This one$_1$ again$_2$ said$_3$. —Mother$_3$! Give$_7$ me$_8$ your$_4$ hand$_5$!— 27. This one$_1$ placed$_6$ her$_2$ hand$_3$ in$_5$ his$_4$ hand$_5$. 28. This one$_3$, taking$_4$ her$_1$ hand$_2$, said$_7$, —Feel$_4$ this$_5$!— 29. This$_1$ his$_2$ mother$_3$ feeling$_5$ it$_6$, took hold$_8$ on$_7$ its$_6$ tail$_7$. 30. This one$_1$ is laughing herself to death$_2$, said to$_{10}$ that one$_3$ her$_4$ friend$_5$, —kwi?tanáa?i$_6$, [her name] Feel$_9$ on$_8$ your$_7$ further side$_6$!— 31. This one$_1$ felt$_2$ it$_2$, took hold$_6$ on$_5$ its$_4$ ear$_3$. 32. This$_1$ woman$_2$ taking hold$_5$ on$_4$ its$_3$ ear$_4$, laughed$_6$. 33. (She) is laughing$_1$, is laughing$_2$, (she) dropped$_4$ her$_3$ little one$_4$ to the ground$_5$. 34. This one also$_1$ her$_2$ friend$_3$ is laughing herself to death$_4$, (she) got up$_5$. 35. As$_3$ all of them$_1$ /they$_2$/ got up$_3$, this$_4$ bearded white man's$_5$ milk

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tahpu$_8$ mi?anu$_9$. 36. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌkwʌ$_2$, 539
—piahuuhpa?a$_3$ takwʌ$_4$ ta$_5$ yʌkwihkana$_6$ suatʌ$_7$, — mekʌ$_8$.
37. sitʌʌ$_1$ wihnu$_2$ suhkutʌ$_3$ ta$_4$ rʌsu?naahka$_5$, pitusʌ$_6$
pʌʌ$_7$ kahnikʌhu$_8$ mi?anu$_9$. 38. subetʌ$_1$.

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cow$_6$ getting up$_7$, went$_9$ away from them$_8$. 36. These two$_1$ 539
women$_2$ said$_8$. —On a big log$_3$ we$_4$ thought$_7$ our$_5$ seat$_6$ (was).— 522
37. These$_1$ then$_2$ from there$_3$ when$_5$ it$_4$ was quiet$_5$, went$_9$ back$_6$
to$_8$ their$_7$ house$_8$. 38. That is all$_1$.

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595 462 went about her tasks cheerfully and willingly. Whichever one of the women divided the labor reserved enough for herself so that she was just as busy as the other women.

857 462 The little girls of the family stayed close to the women the day through, and performed tasks suitable for their ages. But the little boys roamed far and wide, never seeming to have any duties except when they were helping their father with the horses.

521 522 462 [296] [124] During group tasks there was always quite a bit of conversation and considerable laughing. In warm weather the women would go to the creek together, select a place in the shade where the water was about six or eight inches deep, and sit in the water on the sandy bottom to do the family wash. I never learned what the talk and laughter were about, as I was never able to accumulate a squaw vocabulary.

521 562 609 124 [198] (Comanche women held only the most necessary conversation with any man, Indian or white, other than their own menfolks. And while I was generally able to figure out the subject of the men's conversation and follow its progress, I seldom recognized a word used by the women when they conversed among themselves. At times I was inclined to think they even had a different language.)

595 The same air of camaraderie seemed to prevail whenever the wives were together in a group. I noticed it in the store whenever there was only one family present. Their trading done, the wives would draw 516 [352] their chairs into a group and converse. They never had chairs in their camps, but the women never passed up the several chairs we had in the store—although once in a while some quite old squaw would insist on sitting on the floor. If the chairs were all occupied, the women never hesitated to sit on the floor, and the people trading would walk around them.

595 Wherever you saw a man's wives—in town, on the reservation, or at a celebration—they always formed a group. You would not find one wife in a store and another out on the street. Two or more groups of wives would often chat together in the store or sit together in the shade on the reservation or at a powwow.

595 422 294 One custom which seemed odd to me was that of each wife's having her own sewing machine. The sewing done by the average family was not so extensive that one machine would not easily have sufficed. Yet each wife would have her own—something I had been alerted to look for by an article that had appeared in the *Star* commenting that each of Quanah Parker's wives had her individual sewing machine.

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Finally, apparently losing her temper, the one-eyed squaw started mouthing, ran to the south end of the counter, rounded the end, and started back north toward where Mother was standing. Mother, realizing the squaw's intentions, began mimicking her mouthings, picked up her skirts slightly with either hand, as I had seen her do a thousand times when shooing chickens or helping with the livestock around the farm, charged directly toward the little Indian woman.

Mother's mouthing was just as loud and just as unintelligible as was the squaw's, and for an instant it looked as though the irrisistible force was about to collide with the immovable object. Then suddenly Number Three braked to a stop and began running backward. Mother gave her no time to turn around.

Abruptly, the trail ended for the back-peddling intruder—she reached the little window deck where Mother's flowers sat. It was as I have said, knee-high, and the cactus sat on the squaw's side. There was nothing left for the frightened Indian woman to do but sit down, and she sat with all her accumulated momentum directly upon Mother's cactus.

I never decided which arose first, the homely little squaw or her shrieks of pain. At the first shriek, the other wives ran to her rescue. A counter-top showcase hid Mother and the shrieking Indian woman. For all they knew, Mother might be murdering their companion.

When the other wives saw what had happened, they began screaming also, but theirs were screams of laughter. Close behind the wives came the other Comanche women who were sitting around the stove, and their peals of laughter added to the bedlam.

From time to time I have read stories having to do with the stoicism of the American Indians and their ability to repress emotions—remaining indifferent to either pleasure or pain. But I assure you, this repression doesn't include an already excited squaw, clad in a calico *pit-sa-quina*, who unexpectedly sits on a cactus. Neither did it extend to the several Comanche women present in the store when she had her mishap. The little one-eyed Indian woman's shrieks of anguish were what you would expect to hear, even from a sedate white woman, under similar circumstances. And the gales of merriment loosed by the other Comanche women present equaled what you would expect from a group of white women laughing at a companion involved in a like predicament.

Certainly, the victim's face registered a mixture of fear and pain